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HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

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I. HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

Since the invasion of December 1975 Indonesian troops have systematically and persistently violated human rights in East Timor. Amnesty International has received reports from a variety of sources of the "disappearance" and arbitrary killing of non-combatants; of the torture and ill-treatment of people taken into the custody of Indonesian forces, including their detention in cruel and inhuman conditions; and of the imprisonment without charge or trial of people most often held on suspicion of opposing the Indonesian occupation. Since December 1983, when a number of East Timorese charged with political offences began to be brought to trial, Amnesty International has been concerned about the lack of fairness of these trials.

The reports received by the organization have included accounts of hundreds of killings of non-combatant civilians during and shortly after the invasion itself; the systematic execution of hundreds of people who had surrendered to or been captured by Indonesian forces in 1978 and 1979; the "disappearance" or killing of more than 80 men and women in 1980; the reprisal killing of some 200 villagers in 1983; and the killing of about 100 men in one incident in 1984.

Prisoners are reported to have "disappeared" after arrest on suspicion of links with opposition forces; after interrogation in centres in Dili; after being taken out of temporary detention centres or official prisons. The fate of many of these "disappeared" remains unknown.

Prisoners are reported to have been tortured in "resettlement villages" all over the territory and in interrogation centres in the capital. Tortures reported have included the use of electric shocks, beatings and the near-drowning of prisoners. A number of the alleged victims are feared to have died as a result of their ill-treatment.

Arbitrary arrests and detentions are reported to have been carried out on a scale massive by any standard but particularly in relation to the territory's relatively small population: in one operation in 1981 up to 3,000 people are said to have been rounded up and deported to the island of Atauro, to live in conditions of squalor, disease and malnutrition.

The reported victims of all these abuses have come from virtually the whole spectrum of East Timorese society, although most have been villagers living in small highland settlements.

The 1975 invasion

The island of Timor lies at the eastern end of the Lesser Sunda island chain in the Indonesian archipelago. The western half of the island has been part of Indonesia since 1949. The territory of East Timor comprises the eastern part of the island, some islets, including Atauro, and the enclave of Oecusse in the west.

East Timor was under continuous Portuguese administration for over 250 years, from 1702 until August 1975, when, during a period of turmoil, the Portuguese authorities evacuated the island. The territory was invaded by Indonesian forces in December 1975 and was subsequently claimed by

Indonesia after having been incorporated as its 27th province by an "act of integration". This claim has not been recognized by a majority in the United Nations.

The April 1974 overthrow of Portugal's Caetano Government by the Armed Forces Movement in Lisbon was crucial for East Timor. The new Portuguese Government was committed to allowing the colonies to exercise their right to self-determination. Two main political parties emerged in East Timor: the Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste (Fretilin) and the Uniao Democratica Timorense (UDT).

Indonesia has a population of over 150 million, making it the fifth most populous nation in the world. Before the annexation of East Timor, government representatives had previously often stressed that Indonesia laid no claim to the Portuguese colony. After April 1974, Indonesian officials made it clear that Indonesia regarded independence for East Timor as undesirable and a potential security risk, particularly if it entailed the establishment of a left-wing government.

After Portuguese civil and military authorities evacuated mainland Timor, and a period of civil conflict, Fretilin proclaimed an independent Democratic Republic of East Timor on 28 November 1975.

On 7 December, Indonesian forces launched a full-scale invasion of the territory, landing troops by sea and air in the principal towns of Dili and Baucau and despatching a large force across the border.

In resolutions passed in the General Assembly and the Security Council in December 1975, the United Nations (UN) deplored the Indonesian invasion and called on all states to respect the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination. Since "integration" in July 1976, the Indonesian Government has rejected the UN's right to discuss the question of East Timor. However, the UN General Assembly continued to pass resolutions each year from 1976 until 1982. Its 1976 resolution rejected the act of integration. From 1979, the resolutions stressed particularly the need for international humanitarian aid in response to the evidence of severe food and medical problems. In 1983 and 1984 discussions on East Timor were deferred by the General Assembly which in its 1982 resolution had asked the Secretary General to "initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned with a view to achieving a comprehensive settlement".

Offensives against Fretilin

After the Indonesian attack on 7 December 1975, Fretilin forces withdrew. Official Indonesian sources reported in January 1976 that Indonesian forces controlled a third of the territory, although in April 1976 Fretilin claimed that its forces still controlled 80 per cent of East Timor. A series of localized campaigns from September 1977 until early 1979, involving massive aerial bombardment of areas thought to be under Fretilin control, led to the capture and surrender of many thousands of East Timorese, who were often driven out of the bush by hunger. A delegation of diplomats and journalists which visited East Timor in September 1978 at the invitation of the Indonesian Government reported that captured and surrendered East Timorese whom they had seen in "resettlement camps" were evidently suffering from serious malnutrition.

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In March 1979 Indonesian authorities proclaimed the end of Operasi Seroya (Operation Lotus), launched at the time of the invasion, and announced that henceforth East Timor would be fully under civilian administration. However, resistance to the Indonesian occupation persisted, with continuing reports of attacks by Fretilin on Indonesian outposts. In an effort to eliminate this resistance, Indonesian forces launched dry-season offensives, involving the conscription of large numbers of the population.

A ceasefire between the two sides was agreed in March 1983 but later broke down and in August 1983 large numbers of additional Indonesian troops were brought to East Timor in yet another operation aimed at eliminating Fretilin.

In late 1984 and early 1985 Fretilin was still reported to be launching attacks on administrative posts. The Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian armed forces, General Benyamin Moerdani, stated in December 1984 that 7,000 Indonesian troops were in the territory and that Fretilin had an estimated 700 members under arms, 1,000 "active members" and 3,000 to 5,000 "sympathizers".

Estimates from a wide range of sources of the number of people who have died in East Timor since the invasion directly as a result of the armed conflict are as high as 200,000, about a third of the pre-invasion population. Those who have died included people killed during Indonesian bombardments, in armed encounters, as a result of famine and disease - both in the bush and after surrender or capture - as well as many hundreds reportedly executed after surrender or capture.

Access to information

Amnesty International's information on East Timor cannot be regarded as complete and it is not possible to assess the full scale of violations. The strict controls imposed by the Indonesian forces have limited access to the territory and the flow of information out of it. The violations described in this report have occurred in a situation in which the fundamental freedoms of expression, assembly, association and movement have not existed and in the absence of the constraints of legality. People have been detained and ill-treated for asserting their right to these freedoms. Movement and communication within and beyond East Timor have been tightly controlled. East Timorese permitted to leave the territory to be reunited with their families abroad have been routinely warned by Indonesian intelligence officers before leaving not to reveal information which might discredit the Indonesian occupation and have been threatened with reprisals against themselves and their relatives still in East Timor if they do so. Amnesty International has not been able to visit East Timor. In March 1984 it wrote to the Indonesian Minister of Justice asking to attend trials of political detainees then in progress in Dili. This request was refused on the grounds that the trials were a matter of domestic jurisdiction and were being conducted in accordance with international norms.

Despite these circumstances, Amnesty International has accumulated a large body of information on its concerns in East Timor. Some of this information has been documentary, comprising published reports, accounts written and passed on to Amnesty International in confidence and other confidential material, including copies of interrogation reports by the Indonesian authorities. Among these documents are official interrogation reports on prisoners taken into the custody of Indonesian forces.

Other information has come from people interviewed by Amnesty International - they were generally unwilling to be identified by name. They included people who, because of work, position or family relationship, claimed to have knowledge of particular violations. Amnesty International also interviewed people who said they themselves had been the victims of human rights violations; they included former prisoners, people who said they had been tortured and others who gave accounts of how they had survived mass executions.

Alleged abuses by Fretilin

Amnesty International has been accused of showing partiality by ignoring reports of human rights violations allegedly perpetrated by supporters of Fretilin. The organization is aware of a number of such reports, including some which appear to be well-founded. They include:

- Reports of the killing and serious ill-treatment of prisoners held by Fretilin in Dili and Aileu in the period from August 1975 to January 1976.
- A statement issued by Fretilin itself reporting the execution in December 1983 of a number of East Timorese alleged to have collaborated with Indonesian forces.
- Complaints about "Fretilin brutalities" made by Msgr Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic Apostolic Administrator for the Diocese of East Timor, in press interviews given between July and September 1984.

Amnesty International takes no position on armed conflicts. In the particular case of East Timor, the organization does not take a position on the status of that territory. Its sole concern relates strictly to the protection of human rights falling within its mandate. The organization believes that the torture and killing of detainees by anyone, including all parties to any armed conflict, can never be accepted.

Government statements

Torture and arbitrary killing of people in custody by Indonesian troops are clearly at variance with publicly-stated Indonesian policy. In August 1977 President Suharto personally announced an amnesty for East Timorese surrendering to Indonesian forces which unconditionally guaranteed their safety. The initial amnesty offer was subsequently renewed and was still in force at the end of 1984. In addition people interviewed by Amnesty International have reported that Indonesian forces constantly dropped leaflets in areas where there was believed to be a Fretilin presence assuring people who surrendered that they would be safe.

Amnesty International has repeatedly presented its concerns directly to the Indonesian Government in meetings with its representatives and in appeals and letters to President Suharto and to government officials. It has also made its concerns known through the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization. and the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly.

Indonesian officials have responded publicly by questioning Amnesty International's methods and motives and denying the validity of its findings. They have also stated that there is no basis to the reports of serious human rights violations, and have maintained that human rights are respected

in East Timor. To support these arguments they have stated that international humanitarian bodies are granted regular access to the territory. They have also announced the releases of detainees held on Atauro Island, the most widely publicized of East Timor's places of detention, and on several occasions have set a date by which the island will have ceased to be used to detain prisoners. They have presented the fact that since December 1983 people charged with political offences have begun to be brought to trial as further evidence of the respect that Indonesian forces have shown for human rights in East Timor.

The question of access is important, particularly in view of the frequent resolutions passed by bodies of the United Nations which have requested unrestricted access to East Timor by humanitarian organizations. Amnesty International has noted with regret that visits by humanitarian organizations, particularly the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), have been irregular and have not involved full access to all parts of the territory.

ICRC teams operated in East Timor from 30 August 1975 until the eve of the Indonesian invasion, 6 December 1975. But the ICRC was not permitted to undertake activities of any description in East Timor from December 1975 to October 1979; the first prison visits did not take place until February 1982, more than six years after the invasion; prison visits since then have been irregular and by the end of 1984 they had still covered only a limited number of prisons.

Amnesty International has received extensive information on the difficulties facing visitors who wish to assess the situation in East Timor. These difficulties have included: limitations of their freedom of movement (usually explained by the Indonesian authorities as being due to the security situation or the unavailability of transportation); constant surveillance; and reliance on interpreters selected by the Indonesian authorities.

At the same time, East Timorese have testified to the elaborate preparations made for such visits such as the mobilization of people to greet the visitors and to demonstrate during their visits in favour of integration with Indonesia; the removal of military equipment from public places; the steps taken to ensure that people who might communicate information which could discredit the Indonesian occupation did not do so, including their detention for the period of the visit.

Recommendations

In December 1977 Amnesty International appealed to the government to permit international observers access to East Timor.

In April 1980 it expressed concern about reports that people who had surrendered to or been captured by Indonesian forces had subsequently "disappeared" and might have been executed. It urged President Suharto to undertake full inquiries into these reports and into conditions of detainees. It requested that Indonesian forces be instructed to ensure the safety of former Fretilin supporters in accordance with the terms of the amnesty initially offered by the President in August 1977 and subsequently renewed.

In July 1983, it expressed concern to President Suharto that military manuals it had received appeared to indicate that torture and threats to the lives of prisoners were official Indonesian policy, in violation of the guarantees previously offered under the amnesty. Amnesty International

urged President Suharto to issue immediate instructions to all forces under his command prohibiting the torture of prisoners under all circumstances.

In August 1984, after its request to observe trials in East Timor had been refused, Amnesty International informed the Indonesian Government of its reasons for believing that the trials might not conform to international standards. It requested further specific information on the conduct of the trials and on the fate or whereabouts of a number of people who were reported to have "disappeared".

The organization believes that the urgency of its recommendations has not diminished. It considers it imperative for the protection of human rights in East Timor that full investigations be started immediately into all reported cases of "disappearance", torture and extrajudicial execution; that instructions be issued to Indonesian troops to ensure the safety of people taken into custody; and that judicial action be taken against people found to have engaged in torture, extrajudicial execution and arbitrary detention.

In this report, Amnesty International presents its findings on human rights in East Timor between December 1975 and the end of 1984. It believes that the evidence shows a persistent pattern of human rights violations in the territory extending over a period of nine years. Although Amnesty International believes that the violations have continued over the whole nine-year period, including during those periods described by the Indonesian authorities as periods of "normality", the most widespread of violations have occurred in recurrent waves and have generally been associated with times of increased military activity.

Waves of repression

The most serious of these waves of repression occurred in 1978 and 1979. Several hundred people at least are believed to have been executed or to have "disappeared" after the completion of the major Indonesian offensive begun in November 1978, which drove thousands of East Timorese out of the bush and down from the mountains. Since 1979 Indonesian Government spokespersons have repeatedly represented the situation in East Timor as having returned to a state of normality with opposition to Indonesian rule allegedly confined to small bands of Fretilin "remnants".

The available evidence indicates in fact that human rights in East Timor continued to be persistently violated after 1979. At times of heightened military activity, this repression is reported to have been particularly intense and to have involved the arrest, execution and "disappearance" of large numbers of people. Such repressive waves occurred (1) after a Fretilin attack on Dili in June 1980; (2) during the period from April to September 1981 when Indonesian forces launched Operation Security; and (3) after the Indonesian offensive initiated in August 1983 with the stated aim of eliminating Fretilin.

However, even during periods of supposed normality Amnesty International has received information of continuing violations of human rights.

II. EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS AND 'DISAPPEARANCES'

There is considerable evidence indicating that Indonesian forces in East Timor resorted to large-scale extrajudicial executions - unlawful and deliberate killings by government agents - from the very first days of the invasion. Many hundreds of non-combatant civilians in Dili are reported to have been the victims of massacres on 7 December 1975 and succeeding days and Amnesty International has testimonies from people who say they witnessed such arbitrary killings.

Afterwards, beginning in 1978, extrajudicial killings and "disappearances" continued. Amnesty International's investigations have revealed a pattern of recurring anti-Fretilin campaigns by Indonesian forces which have included extensive and apparently systematic killings and "disappearances" both of combatants who had surrendered or been captured and of non-combatants (often relatives) who were suspected of contact with Fretilin guerrillas.

The evidence of large-scale "disappearances" in East Timor is even more extensive than that of extrajudicial executions. Families and friends have been able to report to organizations like Amnesty International that relatives and others have been taken into custody and have gone missing; they cannot be certain what has happened to them but they are able to report (a) the person concerned was last seen in the custody of members of the security forces and (b) that the authorities have refused to acknowledge the detention - in other words, the person has "disappeared".

Father Leoneto Rego, a Portuguese priest who had been allowed to leave East Timor in June 1979, described the situation at the time of his departure thus: "No one who had links with Fretilin is safe; at any time people can be taken without their family knowing and put somewhere else; put in prison camp; or sometimes they just "disappear".

People inquiring into the whereabouts of someone who had "disappeared" were reportedly commonly told by Indonesian troops that the person had gone to a specific place - Baucau, Lospalos, Kelikai, Jakarta, the island of Bali or some other Indonesian island - or that the person had "gone for a bathe" (mandi or mandi laut). Another report from 1979 sent to Amnesty International reads:

> "When they want to liquidate someone, they say that they have gone to continue their studies or that they have left for Jakarta or Lisbon, or that they were called urgently to Kelikai. Kelikai is an administrative post at the foot of Mount Matebian where they have carried out many murders. To speak of Kelikai makes our heart thump and our hair stand on end, for Kelikai means certain death for those called there."

According to reports received by Amnesty International, similar explanations were still being given in 1984. One such report said:

> "In May 1984, 23 people were arrested in Loi Boro Uai, Baucau. Eight of them later "disappeared". Relatives who brought them food were told that they had 'gone to study in Jakarta'. The unfortunate ones were illiterate."

According to Amnesty International's information several hundred East Timorese were arbitrarily executed throughout the territory between late

1978 and mid-1979 after their surrender to or capture by Indonesian troops and that this may have been part of a systematic campaign. Beginning in September 1977, Indonesian armed forces used aerial and naval bombardments as they intensified operations against Fretilin's forces and the population under its control. This campaign reached its culmination in November 1978 with the encirclement and massive bombardment of Mount Matebian in the east of the territory, to which a large number of people under Fretilin control had by that time been driven. During this assault many more thousands of people were captured by or surrendered to Indonesian forces. Most were moved into strategically sited "resettlement villages" where they were immediately put through a process of screening designed to determine their subsequent treatment.

The systematic execution and "disappearance" of people who had surrendered to or been captured by Indonesian forces appears to have reached its peak from March to May 1979. Amnesty International has received extensive reports of the execution in this period of hundreds of people, most of whom had surrendered to the Indonesian authorities in the preceding months. The organization has the names of a total of 365 people reportedly executed in such circumstances between November 1978 and May 1979 (the names appear in Appendix 1). Among the names are those of groups of people reportedly killed in the eastern part of the territory between March and May 1979. The reports include those alleging that:

- 14 people from the area of Fato Berliu were executed there after surrender in March and April 1979;
- 97 people were executed in Lospalos in April-May 1979;
- 44 people were executed in Kelikai in April-May 1979;
- 118 people were executed in Uatolari, Uatocarabau, Viqueque, Ossu, Baguia and hamlets on the southern slopes of Mount Matebian in one operation between 15 and 17 April 1979.

Amnesty International also has the names of others who were reportedly killed or "disappeared" in other parts of the territory including the districts of Aileu and Same and in the capital, Dili.

During the night of 10 June 1980 Fretilin guerrillas are reported to have attacked a broadcasting station in Dare, a suburb north of Dili, and a barracks in Becora which was the base of Battalion 745 of the Udayana Division, manned by locally-recruited Timorese serving under Indonesian officers. Indonesians and Timorese are reported to have died in the attacks. Repressive action involving grave human rights violations followed. Amnesty International has received reports of the extrajudicial killing, sometimes in public, of people suspected of complicity in the attacks. It has the names of 73 people reported to have been executed or to have "disappeared" after the two attacks.

During the so-called Operation Security which lasted from April to September 1981, thousands of East Timorese were deployed to form "fences" of people who were to converge on and flush out remaining Fretilin forces.

During the operation, more than 3,000 people were rounded up and subsequently deported to the island of Atauro. Amnesty International has also received reports of the arrest and torture of people who were unwilling to take part in the operation. There were also reports of people being

killed outside combat, including the reported killing of a large number of people on Mount Aitana (the Rock of Saint Antony), near Lacluta, in September 1981. Estimates of the number of those killed at Aitana range from 80 to 900. According to a newspaper article, Indonesian officials have acknowledged that from 60 to 70 people were killed and have asserted that the dead were Fretilin combatants and their families who had refused repeated requests to surrender.

In August 1983 a ceasefire established the previous March between Indonesian and Fretilin forces broke down. Many more troops were called into the territory as the Indonesian forces began an offensive - Operation Clean-Sweep - aimed at eliminating Fretilin as a fighting force.

Since August 1983 Amnesty International received many reports of arbitrary killings of non-combatants in connection with Operation Clean-Sweep. Several independent sources have reported the killing by Indonesian troops of up to 200 people in the village of Kraras, Viqueque, in August 1983. The killings were said to be in reprisal for a reported attack by Fretilin forces which, according to the Indonesian authorities, had been unprovoked and had resulted in the death of up to 16 army engineers in Kraras.

It is reported that after the killing of the 200, the surviving villagers fled into the mountains near Bibileu, pursued by Indonesian troops. Many of those captured are said to have been executed. The rest of the village surrendered and were "settled" in a place called Klaterek Mutin, where they were reportedly ordered to stay but not permitted to build shelter or grow food.

The Indonesian authorities say their forces' military activity which began in August 1983 was as "follow-up" to the Kraras incident. However, reports of human rights violations associated with military operations were not confined to the vicinity of Kraras and continued well beyond August 1983.

During 1984 reports received by Amnesty International included the following:

- February:- Jaime Castelo, who had worked as a mechanic at the KODIM headquarters in Lospalos, was executed by Indonesian troops after having been taken from the KODIM, where he had been detained for three months and is reported to have been tortured.
- March:- Approximately 100 men living in the vicinity of the village of Hauba, near Bobonaro in the west of the territory, were taken into custody and killed by Indonesian troops.
- March:- Several people near the village of Hato Udo, near Ainaro, were killed by Indonesian troops who suspected them of having links with Fretilin, including supplying the guerrillas with food. Two of the victims were a 42-year-old man named Manuel, killed on 19 March 1984, and another man named Nuno, killed on 29 March.
- May:- A group of four people - two brothers, Moises and Lourenco Araujo; Joao Xavier and a man named only as Oscar - were reportedly arbitrarily executed on 29 May 1984 for alleged contact with Fretilin.
- May:- Three men were killed by Indonesian troops during the night of 30 May after they had been taken from their village, Bucoli, to district headquarters in the town of Baucau, also on suspicion of having had contact with Fretilin. The victims were named as Tomas da Silva, Jacinto da Silva and Vicente Freitas.

III. TORTURE AND ILL-TREATMENT

In July 1983 Amnesty International received a set of military manuals issued to Indonesian troops serving in East Timor. These manuals, among other things, contain guidelines which appear to permit the use of torture and the issuing of threats on the lives of prisoners being interrogated. Although Indonesian officials have repeatedly tried to cast doubt on the authenticity of these documents, neither they nor anyone else has produced any evidence that might indicate that they are false.

There are nine manuals in all covering a wide range of strategic problems, such as how to break up Fretilin support networks, the system of security in towns and resettlement villages, how to provide comprehensive guidance for villages, and procedures for interrogating captives. The reference to - and clear acceptance of the use of - torture is contained in a subsection of the manual on interrogation methods. Guidelines in the manuals on breaking up the Fretilin support networks and on the system of security in towns and "resettlement villages" appear to permit interrogators to threaten the lives of prisoners.

In a manual on Established Procedures on Methods of Interrogating Captives, a section entitled "Things to be Avoided" contains a sub-section:

> "V.13 The Use of Force and Threats
> It is hoped that interrogation with the use of force will not be implemented except in those situations where the person examined tells the truth with difficulty (is evasive). However, if the use of force is required a member of the local population (TBOs, members of the civil militia, ordinary people) should not be present to witness it, in order to avoid arousing the antipathy of the people. The use of force often has the consequence that the person being interrogated under duress confesses falsely because he is afraid and, as a consequence, agrees to everything the interrogator wishes.
> Avoid taking photographs showing torture (penyiksaan) (of someone being given electric shocks, stripped naked and so on). Remember that such documentation/photographs should not be printed freely outside/ in Denpasar (Bali, where regional command headquarters is located) and obtained by irresponsible members of society."

Since the invasion of East Timor, Amnesty International has received numerous and continuous reports of the torture of East Timorese suspected of having opposed the Indonesian occupation. These reports indicate that torture has been commonly used against people suspected of having had contacts with Fretilin forces. Large numbers of victims are reported to have been tortured in various parts of the territory by the security forces and Amnesty International's information is that torture was systematic in interrogation centres in the capital. The kinds of torture alleged include beatings, electric shocks, burning with lighted cigarettes, and sexual abuse, including the rape of women prisoners. The victims are reported to have included people from a wide range of backgrounds, including men and women from tiny villages in the bush, students, teachers, manual workers and local government officials.

Many of the reports of torture and ill-treatment received by Amnesty International concern people in precisely those circumstances described in the passage above, namely prisoners being interrogated after capture or surrender.

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A Timorese who had worked with Indonesian intelligence has described:

"The normal procedure was to interrogate the captives or those who surrendered. People who surrendered and were not soldiers who had engaged in battle with Fretilin would be permitted to go free after the interrogation but only after approval from intelligence headquarters in Dili.

"During the interrogation they were normally tortured, especially if the interrogators thought they were Fretilin soldiers or leaders. They would be tortured by hitting them with a blunt instrument, by jabbing lighted cigarettes into their faces around the mouth, or by giving them electric shocks, sometimes on the genitals.

"The senior authorities would decide who was to be killed after interrogation. Most of the leaders or more educated ones, those who were talented, were killed."

This description accords with information received by Amnesty International on individual cases of the ill-treatment of captured and surrendered East Timorese. Once they were captured or had surrendered, prisoners were taken to "resettlement villages" and put through a process of "screening" which often involved interrogation under torture.

Systematic torture, including the use of electric shocks, was employed at interrogation centres in Dili to which not only Fretilin leaders but all people thought to have important intelligence information were taken. Since November 1979 people being interrogated were reportedly tortured and ill-treated in three particular interrogation centres in Dili:

- A storehouse (almazen) attached to the house formerly owned by Francisco Babo in the Rua Abilio Monteiro in the Colmera district.
- A house formerly owned by Joao dos Martires also in the Rua Abilio Monteiro.
- A house on the Rua Alferes Duarte O Arbiru in the Farol district used since late 1979 as an interrogation centre by armed intelligence, A-1, commonly known as Intel.

Amnesty International has received repeated reports of prisoners dying as a result of torture during interrogation and this may have been the fate of others who are reported to have "disappeared". Amnesty International has the names of 14 people who reportedly died as a result of torture and starvation in prisons in Dili and Aileu following an alleged Fretilin attack on 10 June 1980.

IV. IMPRISONMENT

Amnesty International has been concerned about the arbitrary detention, usually without charge or trial, of large numbers of East Timorese, in grossly inadequate conditions. The main basis for this concern has been information gathered about imprisonment in Dili since December 1975 and on the offshore island of Atauro since June-July 1980. The scale of imprisonment in East Timor as a whole is not known.

Imprisonment has been arbitrary in several respects. People were generally arrested on suspicion of having had some kind of association with Fretilin, although this might be no more than having had contact with a relative still fighting in the bush. Amnesty International has also heard of people who had not been associated with Fretilin being arrested on suspicion of having shown signs of "disaffection" - these people included a number who had been put in positions of trust by the Indonesian authorities. Cases have also been reported of people with no political affiliation being arrested and accused of supporting Fretilin. In some cases, the ground for these accusations appears to have been unwillingness to perform compulsory tasks - such as going on military operations with Indonesian forces, or taking part in urban night patrols. In other cases, people seem to have been arrested so that money could be extorted from them.

People might be detained in any of a number of places: military headquarters or barracks at any level of the military command structure: and also by civil and military police, intelligence branches and the special unit Kopassandha (RPKAD); requisitioned private houses or business premises; in officially designated prisons; on Atauro and other nearby islands; and also in prisons and other places in Indonesia. Prisoners have been detained by officials who had no authority to do so. Moreover, large numbers of people in East Timor have at various times had severe restrictions placed on their freedom of movement.

The Comarca prison

The Porguguese District Prison, Cadeia Comarca (commonly referred to in East Timor as the Comarca) came under the supervision of the military police and from January and February 1976 was used to hold prisoners suspected of involvement with the resistance forces although people charged with criminal offences were also held there. About 500 prisoners were held there as of mid-1977. Most of these had reportedly been released by the end of April 1979. By late 1979, possibly as many as 700 political prisoners were held there. In February 1982, the number seen by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was 13. In April 1983, the number of political prisoners had reportedly risen to 147. In March 1984, the ICRC reported visiting 122 prisoners in the Comarca "imprisoned because of the events".

The prison regime was harsh: food inadequate (prisoners received no food for 19 hours a day - from 5 pm until noon the next day); work onerous; and medical attention insufficient. Prisoners' health was reported to have suffered not only from the harsh regime but also from the prison's location, next to the Pantano Caicoli swamp. Health problems were aggravated by the fact that prisoners slept close to each other, particularly when the prison was

overcrowded, thus increasing the danger of contagion. Tuberculosis was one of several diseases prevalent in the Comarca. Amnesty International has the names of 11 former prisoners who died between 1975 and 1979 of tuberculosis believed to have been contracted there.

Amnesty International has received reports from former prisoners that prisoners have been moved from the Comarca in advance of visits by members of the ICRC. In April 1979 and again in February 1982 when ICRC visits were expected, prisoners were reportedly transferred from the Comarca to the nearby Indonesian military police barracks. It is also reported that on the night before the arrival of ICRC delegates in Dili in April 1979 several prisoners were taken from the Comarca and "disappeared".

Although the occasional visits by the ICRC resulted in improved conditions in the Comarca, their curtailment has been followed by a corresponding decline. Thus between November 1982 and June 1984, during which time the ICRC were not permitted to visit the Comarca, conditions reportedly deteriorated sharply, particularly as regards food.

Atauro

Atauro, an island some 10 miles north of Dili, has an indigenous population of about 5,000. Reports that the Indonesian authorities were transporting people to the island began in mid-1980, when an unknown number of people were sent there for alleged involvement in a guerrilla raid. Amnesty International received further reports of several hundred more Timorese being transported to Atauro between December 1980 and April 1981. Between June and September 1981, more than 3,400 people were said to have been taken to Atauro from districts throughout the territory in connection with the military operation known as Operasi Keamanan.

Many of those sent to the island were women, children and old people. The case of J, a mother of three, is illustrative. Her husband was a member of Fretilin. She was detained in Dili by Indonesian troops in early 1981 and under interrogation stated that her husband was still alive. As a result she, her three children, her mother and her sister were all sent to Atauro.

The conditions facing people sent to Atauro in 1980 and 1981 were deplorable. At that time detainees were being provided with a weekly food ration of only one small can of maize, which they were supposed to supplement by what they could grow themselves. The infertility of the island the the kinds of people held there made food production extremely difficult and most detainees were forced to forage for leaves, roots and other edible matter. According to official statistics, 176 detainees died between June 1981 and May 1982 - but reports received by Amnesty International indicate that in fact at least twice this number died of malnutrition, gastroenteritis and malaria in the second half of 1981 alone.

In December 1981 the detainees were moved into newly-built barracks, each measuring 20 feet by 60 feet and accommodating approximately 60 people. By September 1982, the number in each hut was 75 and conditions were described as hot and cramped. After the February 1982 visit to Atauro by an ICRC delegation, the Indonesian authorities agreed that the ICRC should undertake an emergency food and medical relief program on the island.

Despite earlier Indonesian assurances that the numbers of people held on Atauro would be substantially reduced by June 1982, the number of detainees held there in fact increased during the course of 1982 from 3,280 in February to more than 4,000 by mid-September. Two groups totalling 629 were sent to Atauro from Ainaro district in August 1982, possibly as a result of a reported Fretilin attack on Ainaro. In September 1982, the nutrition and health situation was still reportedly grave even though the ICRC had access to the island.

By August 1983, the detainee population had been substantially reduced to 2,100, after the breakdown of the ceasefire of the previous March had put an end to plans for closure of the detention centre. The Indonesian Government announced in October 1984 that 600 detainees had been returned to their home villages from Atauro on 21 October 1984. The same statement also quoted a recent statement of the Indonesian-appointed Governor of East Timor that all detainees would be released from Atauro by mid-1985.

"Resettlement villages"

Substantial numbers of East Timorese have been concentrated into "resettlement villages" since the Indonesian invasion, but particularly since the large-scale surrenders of 1978 and 1979. Overall figures for the numbers of people "resettled" since 1975 vary from 150,000 to 300,000.

The discrepancy between the figures for the number of people resettled may be due to the fact that the term "resettlement village" is used to refer both to the encampments in which Timorese had been settled immediately after surrender or capture and to the more permanent settlements akin to strategic hamlets.

The village of Remexio which was visited by a delegation of foreign diplomats and correspondents in October 1978 was a "resettlement village" of the former type. Conditions in these settlements particularly with regard to food provision were extremely serious and continued to be so during 1979. Amnesty International has received information from people taken to such resettlement villages in Ai-kurus (near Remexio), Metinaro and Natarbora. One person who surrendered in Natarbora in January 1979 said that several thousand people were living there at that time and that about 10 died daily. This person alleged that only people with money or gold received rice.

Part III of the Manual on How to Protect the Community from the Influence of GPK propaganda has a section which directs that "every single activity of the population should be known precisely" and specifies a number of ways of achieving this, including:

> "b. Appoint an 'informant' for every 10-15 families...who is able to follow, in secrecy, the activities of these 10-15 families.
>
> c. Every person going out of the village must carry a travel permit and every person coming from another village must report.
>
> d. Set up check points to check on people entering or leaving the village.

e. Maintain an element of surprise by holding unscheduled roll-calls or inspections by the neighbourhood chief to check whether people have left the village without permission or whether people have arrived from another village without reporting."

Other measures advocated include house-to-house patrols to prevent illegal meetings taking place.

Restrictions on freedom of movement included limiting people's access to cultivable land: to prevent contact with Fretilin, the manual prescribes that gardens and fields should not be located far from the settlements or village, and that individual gardens and fields should not be isolated from one another. There is little doubt that these rules helped create the serious food shorgtages reported from 1981 to 1984.

V. "NORMALITY"

On 1 September 1983, addressing the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, the Indonesian representative described the situation in East Timor as follows:

"The province is at peace. The wounds of the Fretilin and Portuguese-inspired civil war (have) been healed. The whole population is actively engaged in the economic, social and cultural development of their province as part of the Indonesian Republic."

It later transpired that the actual situation in September 1983 was one involving the widespread violations of human rights.

While the serious violations of human rights described in the section on extrajudicial executions and "disappearances" were associated with times of heightened military activity and directed at eliminating Fretilin, Amnesty International has received persistent reports of violations occurring continuously since 1975. Often the targets of the violations have been people understood not to be associated with Fretilin.

In November 1981, Indonesian forces arrested three members of the Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD), Leandro Isaac, Onto Tas N.F. Sousa Soares and Francisco Dias Ximenes, and a fourth person, Lucio Goncalves, brother of the then Governor Guilherme Maria Goncalves. Their arrest was connected with the publication abroad of a letter written in June 1981 to President Suharto. The letter contained allegations of serious misconduct by Indonesian officials and military personnel, including the torture and killing of non-combatant East Timorese. They were released in late December 1981.

The letter cited four cases of alleged killings by Indonesian troops and East Timorese troops under Indonesian command, three of which involved the killing of people who were said to have practiced "black magic". Amnesty International has received other information on the persecution of people engaging in traditional Timorese animistic (lulik) practices. In 1979-80, Indonesian

forces reportedly conducted a campaign against so-called witches. Reported victims of this campaign were:

- Lunoko and Duheu, husband and wife with five children, beheaded and burned in Beloi in September 1979.

- Sebastiana Gomes, aged about 40, the mother of two children, stabbed to death in Olobai, Viqueque, in January 1980.

- Hare Saba, about 55 years old, beaten to death in Viqueque in February 1980.

- Filomeno Soares Pinto, aged about 50, killed by stabbing and hatchet blows in Viqueque in May 1980.

After the invasion, members of the population were regularly required to perform compulsory tasks. Amnesty International has received reports of people failing to carry out such tasks properly being detained and ill-treated. Reports of such treatment have been received concerning people who were not regarded as displaying sufficient deference, who fell asleep during the ronda (night patrol), who showed reluctance to be recruited for military operations, who failed to attend demonstrations for visiting delegations or dignitaries, and people suspected of having communicated information to visiting delegations which might discredit the occupation.